Canadian Centre
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Policy Options: Ukraine

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A policy paper based on a symposium held December 3rd, 1996

Canadian Bureau for International Education
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Executive Summary

The following policy recommendations were generated by a symposium sponsored by the Canadian Bureau for International Education and the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development on December 3, 1996 at the National Press Club. The recommendations fall into two general categories: 1) Canada's relationship with Ukraine and 2) Ukraine's technical assistance needs.

Canada's Relationship with Ukraine

Ukraine is important to Canada's foreign policy initiatives because of its role as a relatively stable democracy in a volatile part of the world. It also has significant economic potential. Domestic political interest in Ukraine is generated by over one million Canadians, mostly in central and western Canada, who claim some Ukrainian heritage.

Canada is perceived to be an important player in Ukraine with an influence greater than its monetary commitments. This influence, while desirable and worth preserving, implies a certain responsibility on Canada's part, especially with regard to how it manages its programs in Ukraine. The following measures would serve to strengthen and sustain Canada's special relationship with Ukraine:

- establish a cooperation house that would house shorter-term projects to give a message of consistency and commitment;
- provide on-going support to Ukrainians who have visited Canada on a study tour or internship;
- provide Canadian advisors to reform-minded ministers;
- increase Canada's representation on IFIs in Ukraine.

Ukraine's Technical Assistance Needs

Ukraine is facing some daunting challenges at this juncture in its development. Canada can help with the following initiatives:

- make loan guarantees conditional upon specific reform benchmarks;
- promote small business development through management training, small business loans and policy advice to the Ministry of Economic Development;

- continue support for the training of public servants, especially at *oblast* (provincial) and *rayon* (municipal) levels;
- help reform minded ministers sell reforms to their peers and the public;
- promote linkages between Canadian and Ukrainian legal associations, universities; and business and universities;
- provide strategic consulting to Canadian businesses interested in working in Ukraine;
- encourage more sensible privatisation of state-owned firms;
- sponsor policy forums that promote dialogue between bureaucrats and business people;
- aid in the development of Ukrainian farm cooperatives as an intermediary stage to full privatisation from state ownership;
- support Canadian-Ukrainian farm industry linkages.

Background

Stability in Ukraine is crucial

Ukraine's independence has been called the most significant geopolitical development since the Second World War. Its sovereignty signified the end of the USSR and the Cold War. Amidst turmoil-ridden Belarus and Boris Yeltsin's questionable health, Ukraine stands as a pillar of relative stability and political progress. Stability in Ukraine is crucial for the stability of the continent.

Since independence in 1991, Ukraine has more or less successfully undertaken transitions related to state building, economic liberalization (freeing of prices) and macroeconomic stabilization.

Building state institutions

State-building and economic liberalization began with Leonid Kravchuk's election as the country's first president. Under the Soviet regime, all important economic and political decisions were made by the central leadership in Moscow. Ukraine was a hollow state lacking the institutions needed to function as an independent country. It had no central bank, no Ministry of Defence, no Office of the President, and no diplomatic representation, and the existing ministries were weak. President Kravchuk's energies were spent on establishing state institutions and winning international recognition, the latter being necessary to fend off the possible threat from Russia. Since the economy was dominated by state enterprises and prices were regulated, liberalization was a matter of urgency.

This phase was reasonably successful in that it created the parameters within which the Ukrainian state would evolve. However, aside from price liberalization there was little progress in economic reform during this period. This resulted in hyper-inflation and a disastrous collapse of industrial production, which led to Leonid Kravchuk's defeat in the 1994 presidential election.

Macroeconomic stabilization

Macroeconomic stabilization began with the election of Leonid Kuchma in 1994. Since becoming president, Kuchma has focused on the single greatest security threat to Ukraine - the near collapse of its economy. Kuchma has been successful and now Ukraine has a fighting chance of following the Central European countries' example of creating a viable market economy.

Having reached an understanding with international financial institutions (IFIs) and with the countries of the G7, the stabilization policy reduced inflation (now around 40% per year) and the budget deficit (4.8% for the first eight months of 1996). The latter was achieved by removing subsidies to state enterprises; slashing spending on education, health, and social programs; and reducing state investment in infrastructure. For the first time, wages grew faster than inflation and foreign investment noticeably increased ($195 million in the first half of 1996 compared to $265 million during all of 1995). The decline in industrial production slowed to 4.3% for the first three quarters of 1996, and privatization of the service sector and small enterprises made headway. The introduction of a

national currency, the hryvnia, is seen as confirmation of the stabilization of the economy and for six months the hryvnia has remained stable.

International presence

Such notable economic and political progress is not the whole story. Ukraine has declared itself committed to becoming a full partner in Europe and integrating itself into European organisations. It has unilaterally given up its nuclear arms. It has participated in two NATO peacekeeping missions: Bosnia and Angola.

New Challenges

For all that Ukraine has achieved to date, it now faces even more difficult challenges. These include:

- reform of public finance
- reform at the micro-economic level
- reform of the public service
- legal reform
- education reform
- improved climate for business
- reform of agriculture

Belief in reform

Over-arching these reforms in specific sectors is the need to inculcate a belief in the process of reform in the political elite and in society at large. The best reform strategies can be undermined by popular dissent.

What follows in Part One of this paper is a brief discussion of Canada's relationship with Ukraine and recommendations about how its advantages can be sustained. This is followed in Part Two by a review of some of the challenges currently facing Ukraine and specific recommendations about how Canada can help. These recommendations result from a combination of the presentations prepared for the symposium and the subsequent discussion with the audience.

Part One - Canada's Relationship with Ukraine

Early support of independence

Many steps towards Ukraine's growth into a stable and viable democracy have been assisted by the international community. Fostering its growth has been the goal of many western countries, particularly Canada, whose involvement began as the first major Western country to recognize Ukraine's independence.

Canada has committed more than $204 million in bilateral assistance to Ukraine consisting of:

- bilateral technical cooperation ($121 million),
- humanitarian assistance ($13.6 million),
- commercial credits ($70 million).

From the beginning, Canada has had three policy objectives for technical cooperation in Ukraine:

- supporting the transition to a market-based economy;
- promoting democratic development and good governance;
- increasing Canadian trade and investment links with Ukraine.

More than 100 projects have been funded in line with these objectives. The question we can ask after five years of independence is: What impact have these policies and the resulting projects had on the way 'things get done' in Ukraine?

Canada's technical assistance program with Ukraine - valued at $204 million over the last four years - is small when compared to countries such as the USA or Germany. Nonetheless, Canada is perceived as an important donor with an influence greater than its monetary commitments. This influence is highly desirable for Canada and worth preserving but it implies certain responsibilities for Canada in how it manages its programs.

Continuity of Programs

Continuity of Technical Assistance Projects

Continuity of programs is important. While most Canadian projects have a life span of three years or less, the reallocation of resources from one program to another can be perceived as a lack of commitment on Canada's part. What may make sense from a Canadian point of view may well be perceived by Ukrainians as a vote of non-confidence.

Canadian programs in other countries have dealt with this problem by establishing a Cooperation House which could provide office space and technical support to various projects. One project may finish and another begin, but the impression of a continued Canadian presence remains.

Recommendation

Establish a Cooperation House which could house Canadian technical assistance projects in Ukraine. This would both provide a consistent presence in Ukraine as well as save money and time for each individual project (i.e. less start up costs, shared resources and logistical support, and corporate memory). There

are examples of such operations in nearby countries, for example, the Czech Republic. The best option would probably be to encourage the existing support programs to evolve towards a cost recovery model.

Impact of Study Tours

Some 400 to 500 Ukrainians have been brought to Canada on internships and study tours. For most of them it is a very positive experience. Some have risen to influential levels in the Government and take with them a positive inclination toward Canada. Others return to Ukraine and get frustrated. The sources of frustration are varied. For some it is simply a problem of applying what they have learned in a very different context to their everyday work. For others it is a problem of resentment or jealousy on the part of their peers. For others it is a problem of reverse culture shock. To increase the impact of Canadian study tours on reforms in Ukraine, the people who have been to Canada need to be supported and developed into a network.

Recommendation

Develop a registry of Ukrainian veterans of study tours and internships in Canada. Provide them with a means of communication (for example, a newsletter or magazine like the *Canada-Ukraine Monitor*) and support (for example, regional clubs or policy forums).

Support for Reformers

Canadian Advisors

"Reform-minded" government ministers are under pressure to deliver reforms quickly and have few trusted sources of sound technical advice. The Minister of Justice has had a Canadian advisor working in his office for the past year. This arrangement has worked well for Mr. Holowaty and for Canada. Other reform-minded ministers have expressed interest in having Canadian advisors, as has the Supreme Court. Canadian advisors would also be welcome in the President's office and in the Parliamentary Commission on Legal Policy and Judicial Reform. Given Canada's goal of flexible and responsive technical assistance programming, this approach has perhaps the greatest impact for the fewest dollars.

Recommendation

Canada should provide support to reform-minded ministers, and those who work directly with them, in the form of Ukrainian-speaking Canadian advisors. This will work only if the advisors are of the highest calibre and if the ministers want such support.

Canadian Presence in IFIs

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, by attaching conditionality to loans and credits, can provide some external pressure to stimulate reform. In a country lacking serious public debate and successful domestic free market

and democratic models, such external pressure may be one of the only ways to force difficult decisions. In this way, external pressure on the part of IFIs can provide the political incentive for reformers. At the time of the symposium, Canada had one position in the IMF and only 1/2 a position at the World Bank in Ukraine.

Recommendation

Given that IFIs can provide the impetus to carry out politically difficult reforms by attaching conditionality to loans and credits, increasing Canada's participation within them would give Canada a stronger voice in determining how the IFIs act. Canada should insist that more Canadians take part in the World Bank study missions to Ukraine.

Part Two - Ukraine's Technical Assistance Needs

In the five years since independence, Ukraine has built a state apparatus and achieved economic liberalization and macro-economic stabilization. While these are already remarkable accomplishments, there remain a number of challenges that Ukraine must face immediately or risk losing what has been achieved. The following is a brief review of some of these challenges and specific recommendations about the role Canada could play in assisting Ukraine to move forward with reform.

Reform of Public Finance

Budget Reform

With a budget deficit of US$100m, a wage debt in excess of US$2b and an accumulated foreign debt of US$8.5b, there is a relatively urgent need for tax reform in Ukraine. The current codes, which tax some items in excess of 100%, are not generating enough income because they discourage compliance and are, in fact, helping to maintain the strength of the informal economy. Collection methods need to be improved and social expenditures need to be recast. Budget policy and process have to be improved and standardized. Such reforms are extremely difficult because they compromise vested interests. Successful reforms are usually accomplished only with severe pressure in the form of conditional loans, grants and assistance.

Recommendation

Canada should consider making its loan guarantees and perhaps even its technical assistance conditional upon specific financial reform benchmarks.

Reform at the Microeconomic Level

Microeconomic Reform

Having brought inflation under control and stabilized the currency (macroeconomic stabilization), there is now a need for reform at the microeconomic level. This involves bringing expenditures under control by recasting social spending, deregulating business, and developing management skills. This will encourage local investment and attract foreign investors. By encouraging such microeconomic stimulants Ukraine can achieve what Poland has: the birth of several hundred thousand cottage industry businesses in the last three years.

Recommendation

Provide policy advice to the Ministry of Economic Development.

Recommendation

Set up and provide initial support for a nationally accesible facility that would provide management training and low-interest loans for small business.

Reform of the Public Service

With a population of 53 million and a state apparatus of 12,500 people, the government of Ukraine is understaffed. Furthermore, the role of the bureaucracy under the previous totalitarian regime was to enforce rules and projects dictated from Moscow. There is a need for trained personnel to be brought in at the local government level to administer the policies being recast at the federal level.

Anemic public service

Anemic ministries need more and better trained bureaucrats. The Ministry of Finance, for example, contained 500 people at independence whereas France, a country of comparable size and population, has about 5,000 bureaucrats. The division of power between the Cabinet of Ministers, the President's administration, and parliament also needs to be ironed out and enforced.

Local governments are still run on the old *matrioshka* system where everyone is responsible for everything. What is needed is a clear division of power and responsibility.

Recommendation

The training of public servants in Ukraine should remain a priority for Canada. Emphasis should be on building capacity at *oblast* (province) and *rayon* (municipal) levels.

Legal Reform

Rule of Law

Despite considerable advances such as the passing of the Constitution, there is still much to be done to establish the rule of law in Ukraine. A new civil code has just been passed by the *Verkhovna Rada* and will have to be enforced. It is a critical element in establishing a legal framework for business development. The Constitutional Court has been appointed but is not yet fully constituted. There is still a strong reactionary lobby against these reforms.

Reforms in both the legal framework (i.e. Civil Code, Constitution) and in the legal professions are critical to all aspects of Canada's objectives in Ukraine. Without the rule of law and without the predictability afforded by transparent laws enforced in a predictable manner, democratic processes, market reforms, and investment linkages are very difficult.

Legal Framework

Canada has a strong record of technical assistance in the legal field in Ukraine. It has provided technical assistance in judicial training, notarial reform, legislative drafting, and legal education. Combined with considerable assistance from European countries, Germany and Holland in particular, technical problems are being systematically addressed. The most critical issue at the moment is the approval of the Civil Code. Legislators must be convinced of its advantages and of the need to pass it without self-interested amendments. Quebec has just gone through the experience of drafting and passing a new Civil Code and is

currently doing the same with the Code of Civil Procedures. There is much that could be shared with Ukraine.

Many shortcomings exist at the level of legal practice. Notaries are being forced into private practice by government policy but often do not have the business experience, physical resources or legal training to become viable professionals. Ukraine does not have a tradition of an independent judiciary. There is a need for further development of the legal framework in which judges operate and much training in the values of objectivity and independence. As a profession, lawyers are still fragmented and oriented toward jurisprudence rather than legal practice.

Recommendation
Continue to support programs that give legal professionals exposure to western practice. Linkages between Canadian professional organizations (e.g. Canadian Bar Association, Commissioner for Judicial Affairs, Quebec Order of Notaries) and their equivalents in Ukraine should be encouraged.

Recommendation
Canada should help the Minister of Justice, and other reform ministers, sell their reforms to parliamentarians and the general public. This will be critical to the adoption of a viable Civil Code, which in turn is critical to most other reforms in Ukraine. Overt public support of reform initiatives would send a powerful signal to Ukraine's status-quo oriented parliament.

Education Reform

While some reforms have occurred at the primary level, the universities have not undergone reform and are still largely staffed by the old guard. Considerable corruption is present in both grading and obtaining access to university.

Weak social sciences

Ukraine has a well-educated population (a literacy rate of almost 100 percent) because of a well-developed education system. This assertion - commonly made - is indisputable as well as incomplete. Ukraine's strength lies primarily in the physical sciences, especially theoretical ones. It is in the humanities, especially those not taught under communist rule, that Ukraine is wanting. Graduates are generally unprepared to function in a western-oriented "civil society" which they have declaratively embraced but which they have little capacity to build or nurture.

Ukraine did not go through the Enlightenment or the Renaissance. It is relatively unfamiliar with western values, yet is being called upon to build institutions that are premised on these values. This suggests a need for basic research and courses in the social sciences.

Pedagogical training

There is also a need for pedagogical training of university lecturers. The professors of the 'new' humanities are finding it difficult to teach as opposed to instruct. In fact it is difficult to even imagine how, having been raised and edu-

cated in a system which did not allow (much less regard) these ideas, professors could have developed teaching competence as opposed to mere instructional ability. University faculty dealing with the social sciences would benefit greatly from exposure to western universities.

Internships

Inviting Ukraine's top students to study in Canada would build loyalty that would be beneficial when these individuals take up prominent leadership positions.

Student governments at many universities are no more than debating clubs. Canada could promote their development towards forceful and effective legislative bodies.

Recommendation

Promote Canadian and Ukrainian university linkages to facilitate student and staff exchanges. Areas to target include professors of the 'new humanities' and student unions.

Recommendation

Given that Ukrainian universities have well developed faculties of physical sciences, it would be profitable to promote linkages with Canadian businesses. Siemens, a computer company, has successfully tapped into this rich well. This would have the added advantage of providing the resources needed to improve facilities and faculty.

Business Development

Good investment climate

Ukraine is now ripe for profitable investment - there is an absence of war, a working democracy, acceptable inflation and a convertible currency. Economic fertility for profitable investment and ease to do so, however, are two different matters. International business people and investors face great obstacles when

Obstacles

setting up in Ukraine. First, the rule of law is not universally respected in Ukraine. Second, government officials are more often obstructions to investment than catalysts. Bureaucrats in Ukraine have been described as "tack throwers on the road to investment." Finally, in many cases, management practices and corporate structures do not encourage profit-making.

Privatization

The way in which privatization of large industries has been carried out, for example, has created ownership patterns that are not viable. Ownership is disbursed 30 per cent to workers and management and 40 percent to the state, leaving only 30 percent available to private investors. Such privatization does not result in the infusion of new capital, thereby dooming the newly privatized business to the same insolvent status they previously experienced as state enterprises.

A problem for Canadian businesses is that they do not know who to deal with or to whom they should address their concerns. It would be beneficial if Ukraine had a better developed network of associations and non-government organiza-

tions (NGOs), formed around various issues or professional interests, which could be approached and which could lobby government for reform. While some associations do exist already, they are generally considered throwbacks to the old regime. Although they have constituted themselves as NGOs, they have the same 'monitoring' functions as in the past.

The end result of successful business linkages between Canadians and Ukrainians is broad-based and hard-to-resist pressure to enforce the rule of law, change government practice and develop new corporate entities.

Recommendation
Investors should be given access to strategic consulting and in-depth briefings on the economic and political environment of Ukraine.

Recommendation
Encourage the continued privatization of state-owned firms but according to free market criteria. This would involve facilitating access to modern technology and training people in basic business practices (with adequate follow-up).

Recommendation
Promote the formation and strengthen the capacity of Ukrainian professional associations and business NGOs through technical assistance missions and pairing with Canadian counterpart organizations. Such associations might include a union of mayors of cities, an association of farmers, or a council of writers. These associations would provide strong internal pressure for reform. They would contribute to a badly needed public debate. They would also provide international investors with forums in which to suggest business policy changes to high-level bureaucrats and politicians.

Agricultural Reform

Ukraine's agricultural sector might best be described as extensive rather than intensive, involving over 20 percent of the population. It is plagued by severe problems in transportation, marketing, farm management, and access to capital, and output has declined significantly in recent years. But given Ukraine's unmatched natural endowments, agricultural production has the potential for growth into exports markets. Because it is extensive and because it has potential, reform in the agricultural sector will have considerable influence on the direction of Ukraine's entire economy.

Breadbasket

Prior to outbreak of World War II, Ukraine was known as the breadbasket of the world, producing 43 percent of the world's barley, 20 percent of its wheat and 10 percent of its corn. Today, Ukraine finds itself with a dysfunctional agricultural sector lacking the basic elements of a modern agricultural infrastructure. It has no commodity marketing systems, no financial credit systems for farmers, and no agricultural extension system that can teach farmers modern practices. Farm technology in Ukraine, especially in the area of soil management, is outdated. Finally, there is a lack of decisive legislation for governing the ownership

and sale of farm land, discouraging many people from becoming private farmers.

Fall in production

As a result of these deficiencies, production has fallen in the last five years and continues to fall dramatically. While the acreage sown remained relatively constant between 1990 and 1995, production fell by about 30 percent over the same period. From 1995 to 1996 the production of grain, sugarbeet and sunflower has fallen by over 22 percent. Only potato production, produced mostly by the private sector, increased over the last year (25 percent).

Natural Endowments

Despite the decline in agricultural production, Ukraine is still endowed with 30 percent of the world's best top soil, lying one metre thick (compared to Canada's 15cm). With a climate that can potentially expand the production in a wide variety of agricultural sectors and potential to expand markets to neighboring markets, it is hard to believe that efforts to reform the agricultural sector have not been fruitful. The main obstacles remain in the area of privatization, land reform and introduction of modern management practices.

Collective Farms

Efforts to privatize collective farms have achieved mixed results. On the one hand, the general belief that collective farms can be rapidly privatized into modern, economically-efficient, cooperative agricultural enterprises has proven unrealistic. They are still controlled by the same unaccountable people who managed the collective farms during the Soviet era, using the same outdated farm technology and farming practices.

Private Farms

On the other hand, a relatively small number of private farmers (approximately 35,000) have slowly emerged and are now farming about 3 percent of Ukraine's farm land. While limited to the amount of land they can own and restricted by opposition from the collective farms and the people they employ, many of these smaller private farms are obtaining modest successes, as indicated by their productivity outputs. Their success can be attributed to farm management skills, the ability to intensively manage all aspects of the farming operations (from basic production to marketing farm commodities), and from various entrepreneurial ideas such as forming cooperatives, allowing farms to share resources and to drive reasonable market prices in order to make a profit.

Canadian efforts in this sector have been frustrated by various factors:

- resistance from collective farm managers toward new opportunities;
- bureaucratic resistance from the Ministry of Agriculture to facilitate changes to support partnerships and innovative practices; and
- the lack of legislation regarding the purchase and resale of land.

Patience and a more focussed approach to agricultural assistance by Canada, including partnership with the private sector, will generate critical stimuli for agricultural reform in Ukraine.

Recommendation

Promote and support the development of farm cooperatives in Ukraine as an intermediary stage in the transition from state-owned to privately-owned farms. Canada's historical experience with farm collectives could be very relevant to Ukraine during this transition.

Recommendation

Support agricultural reform through private sector initiatives, combining direct investment in Ukraine's agri-food sector with technical assistance which will contribute to the education of farmers and reforms in the agriculture sector.

Appendix One: Overview of the Recommendation Forming Process

Description of the Symposium

The policy recommendations were generated by a symposium sponsored by the Canadian Bureau for International Education and the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development on December 3, 1996 at the National Press Club. Three highly-respected Canadians presented an analysis of reforms in Ukraine based on their experience working and living in Ukraine since independence. Their presentations were followed by an open discussion with stakeholders in Canada's foreign policy with Ukraine.

Each speaker addressed one of Canada's foreign policy priorities in Ukraine: promoting democratic development and good governance, supporting the transition to a market economy, and increasing Canadian trade and investment links with Ukraine. Lubomyr Markevych spoke on the progress and problems in the transition to a market economy. As director of the Canada Ukraine Partners Office since its inception in 1993, he has guided dozens of Canada's technical assistance projects with Ukraine. Bohdan Krawchenko spoke on the challenges Ukraine faces reforming its civil service. He helped establish and is now Pro-Rector of the Ukrainian Academy of Public Administration, an internationally accredited school for training public servants. Gerald Fedchun, director of the Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce, spoke on establishing and maintaining Canadian investment links with Ukraine.

The audience of forty guests included parliamentarians David Kilgour, Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, and Senator Marcel Prud'homme; representatives from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Canadian International Development Agency working in Ukraine; employees of Canadian Executing Agencies working on Ukraine assistance projects; academics; and members of the Ukrainian community. A pre-symposium briefing with the three speakers was held for Members of Parliament Jesse Flis, Walt Lastewka, Bill Blaikie, and David Kilgour.

The Presenters

Gerald Fedchun is the special counsel for ITT Industries of Canada Ltd, a diversified company engaged principally in the manufacture and distribution of automotive parts, fluid handling equipment and electronic components, and in the provision of insurance, financial and hotel management services. He served as ITT's Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer from 1993 to 1995. He is the President of the Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce and organised the Canadian Trade Mission to Ukraine in 1996, accompanying Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy. He holds a Master of Laws from Osgoode Hall Law School.

Bohdan Krawchenko is the former director of the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies and professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Alberta. After arriving in Ukraine in February, 1991 he has had many accomplishments: he founded and served as Director General of the Institute for Public Administration and Local Government for three years; he is now Vice-Rector of the Ukrainian Academy of Public Administration; he is one of the authors of Ukraine's civil service law and a member of numerous task forces and government committees dealing with economic reform; he is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Renaissance (Soros) Foundation, Executive Chairman of the International Centre for Policy Studies, and founder of Osnovy Publishers, Ukraine's largest academic publishing house. Recently, Dr. Krawchenko was appointed Chair of the Graduate Studies Committee at Ukraine's oldest institution of higher learning, the University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy. In December, 1995 he was awarded an honorary degree from the University of North London.

Lubomyr Markevych was born and raised in Edmonton. After receiving a BA in Political Science and then a LLB from the University of Alberta, he practised law in Edmonton for 15 years doing a considerable amount of immigration work for East European clients in the period immediately prior to and following the collapse of the Berlin wall. In 1992 he travelled to Ukraine with a major engineering firm competing to create a land registration system for the Ukrainian government. Since 1993 he has worked as the Kyiv-based director of the Canada Ukraine Partners Office, which provides technical and logistical support for one of Canada's largest technical assistance programs in Ukraine.

Special Thanks to:

Christina Maciw, LLB, LLM, for her valuable editorial advice. For three years, she has worked as Legal Counsel to the Council of Advisors to the Parliament of Ukraine, a position funded by the Canadian government. She is currently field coordinator of the Judicial Reform Project and head of the Ukraine office of a private law firm.

Appendix Two: *Focus: Ukraine* Symposium Program

Focus: Ukraine
National Press Club
Tuesday, December 3, 1996

9:00 Introductions
Helgi Eyford, Canada Ukraine Partners Program

9:10 Lubomyr Markevych
Progress and Problems in the Transition to a Market Economy

9:30 Questions for Lubomyr Markevych

9:45 Bohdan Krawchenko
Challenges of Reforming the Civil Service in Ukraine

10:05 Questions for Bohdan Krawchenko

10:20 Gerald Fedchun
Establishing and Maintaining Canadian Investment Links in Ukraine

10:40 Questions for Gerald Fedchun

11:00 Round Table Discussion
Implications for Policy Options

11:50 Closing Remarks